



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

## Edinburgh Research Explorer

### (Un)settling home during the Brexit process

**Citation for published version:**

Miller, RG 2018, '(Un)settling home during the Brexit process', *Population, Space and Place*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2203>

**Digital Object Identifier (DOI):**

[10.1002/psp.2203](https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2203)

**Link:**

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

**Document Version:**

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

**Published In:**

Population, Space and Place

**General rights**

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

**Take down policy**

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact [openaccess@ed.ac.uk](mailto:openaccess@ed.ac.uk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



# (Un)settling home during the Brexit process

Rebekah Grace Miller 

Institute of Geography, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland

## Correspondence

Rebekah Grace Miller, The University of Edinburgh, Room 1.09, Institute of Geography, Drummond Street, Edinburgh, EH8 9XP, Scotland.

Email: rebekah.miller@ed.ac.uk

## Funding information

The Meiklejohn Fund; Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)

## Abstract

Building upon extensive literature on the concept of home, this article uses narrative interviews to argue that home can be (un)settled. The process of (un)settling home can occur in relation to various circumstances such as widowhood, ill health, or geopolitical changes. This article presents (un)settling home as a process constituted by three intertwined dimensions; practical and material, emotional, and temporal. This article explores how the Brexit process is (un)settling home for older British migrants, a population of lifestyle migrants, living in Spain. This geopolitical event has an ongoing destabilising and unsettling effect upon individual's sense of home and belonging. Brexit is a process experienced simultaneously by older British migrants living across the European Union. Consequently, this article provides useful insights into how these relatively privileged migrants negotiate an unprecedented shift in their status, their uncertain future as lifestyle migrants, and their understandings of home in this shifting geopolitical context.

## KEYWORDS

ageing, Brexit, ethnography, home, lifestyle migration

## 1 | INTRODUCTION

The recent referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union (EU), or "Brexit," has become an unanticipated consideration in the lives of older British migrants in Europe. This article draws upon ethnographic research with this diverse population in the Costa del Sol region of Spain to develop understandings of how the concept of home is shaped and experienced within a specific, and complex, geopolitical context, the Brexit process. Based on fieldwork comprised of several trips to Spain between June 2016 and March 2017, the timing of this research is significant as it encompassed the days prior to and postreferendum result, until the invoking of Article 50, expressing the United Kingdom's formal decision to end their EU membership. This period involved few tangible political changes and left a vast array of questions about social, political, and economic implications of Brexit unanswered. This article focuses on this "in-between" moment in the Brexit process, identifying

it as an opportunity to understand what happens to home in the context of uncertainty, simultaneously with apparent limited change.

This article argues that home is a complex, multifaceted, and meaningful concept that can be affected by what is understood here as processes of (un)settling. The adjective "unsettled" is defined as "lacking order or stability, worried or uneasy, liable to change: unpredictable, not yet resolved" (Oxford Dictionaries Online, 2018). Following this definition, it will be argued that home is a concept that can be shaped by processes of (un)settling. Such processes reveal themselves through unexpected change and in response to changing circumstances. For individuals, home is a concept that can be unsettled within changing circumstances such as widowhood, ill health, or in the context of geopolitical changes such as Brexit. The unsettling of home within the context of these changes can shape how individuals consider their present and future ideas of home and understandings of place (Ahmed, Casteneda, Fortier, & Sheller, 2003). As will be explored, processes of (un)settling home is understood here to be

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

© 2018 The Authors. Population, Space and Place Published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd

constituted by three intertwined dimensions: practical and material, emotional, and temporal.

Within this article, the use of “older British migrant” throughout identifies three complex and multiple identities that these individuals negotiate within their lives in Spain. Adopting Pain, Mowl and Talbot's (2000, p. 378) definition, “older” is understood here as “those over state retirement age” with an awareness that “the meaning and impact of ageing are largely socially and economically constructed” although there are “fundamental biological processes” central to the process of ageing. However, this discussion acknowledges that “older” is a flexible category that can be negotiated, performed, or rejected, by individuals as they experience the ageing process at different rates and in different ways (Miller, Sinding, Griffith, Shannon, & Raina, 2016; Näre, Walsh, & Baldassar, 2017). The use of older here delineates between the experiences of all British migrants and those of advanced years. Such delineation emphasises the value of understanding the specific challenges and concerns facing older migrants in the context of Brexit.

For these older migrants, their “British” identity is one that has been identified as important within their daily practices, encounters, and experiences within their everyday lives in Spain (O'Reilly, 2017; Walsh, 2012). Finally, the use of “migrant” reflects the categorisation of older British migrants as “lifestyle migrants,” relatively privileged migrants who have been motivated by a desire for a “better” lifestyle (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009b; Benson & O'Reilly, 2016). The use of “migrant” is also used to reject the use of the problematic term “expatriate,” which has complex colonial histories and suggests an innate sense of privilege for transnational migrants in relation to indigenous populations (Kunz, 2016). Therefore, the use of “migrant” highlights the shared experiences of migration that lifestyle migrants and other migrants encounter.

This article presents two narratives from a Seniors Club, a voluntary care and social organisation in the Costa del Sol. Experiences of ageing, ill health, and potentially shifting sense of independence can lead to individuals seeking assistance offered by such organisations (Miller et al., 2016; Oliver, 2017). William and Lily are regular members of one Seniors Club branch. Like fellow older members, they have differing migration stories, concepts of home, and experiences of being an older British migrant in the Costa del Sol. However, they have a shared sense of belonging that is, in part, focused on their membership and attendance of this Seniors Club. As such, it is necessary to introduce their branch of Seniors Club to contextualise an important facet of both William's and Lily's home in the Costa del Sol. Following this brief introduction, relevant literature will be reviewed to position this article's argument. Next, the process of (un)settling will be introduced in more detail, followed by William's and Lily's narratives. Finally, these narratives will be discussed in relation to Brexit to understand its role in the (un)settling of home for older British migrants.

## 2 | INTRODUCING THE SENIORS CLUB

The Seniors Club is a voluntary organisation with a remit to assist and advise older English-speaking populations in the Costa del Sol region. Although not exclusively for British migrants in Spain, the Club is predominantly comprised of British volunteers and attendees. Each branch of the Club is unique, run independently of one another, and

located in areas of high concentrations of British migrants. Consequently, they provide differing levels of assistance depending on the prevailing needs of their members and their access to resources. This Club is open to seasonal migrants, tourists, and permanent migrants, and membership is flexible based on the transience of these populations (Oliver, 2008; O'Reilly, 2000).

This article focuses on a branch in Arroyo de la Miel, or “Arroyo” as it is affectionately known by British migrants. Led by Helen, the branch coordinator, this branch meets every Tuesday for a coffee morning in a café located in an area popular with British people. Aged between 55 and 95 years old, branch members have different needs and motivations for attending, including care, social needs, or in a volunteering capacity. However, there is an active underplaying of the Club's care and assistance roles in favour of emphasising members' social interactions. By underplaying these roles, members are also underplaying experiences of ill health, bereavements, and deaths that constitutes the Club's context. These experiences can unsettle members' concepts of home and belonging as they negotiate group and individual challenges within everyday life. The focus on two narratives from this branch reflects the importance of these groups for support, care, and a sense of community for older migrants (Haas, 2013; Huber & O'Reilly, 2004; Oliver, 2017). The Arroyo branch membership is diverse with members having varying access to financial resources, social capital and potential for mobility, and potentially complex care needs. Therefore, the Brexit process may have different and unequal implications for Club members depending on their financial and social circumstances. However, these implications may not become visible until later in the Brexit process. Meanwhile, members are negotiating their sense of home and belonging on a daily basis as the Brexit process begins.

## 3 | OLDER BRITISH MIGRANTS IN THE COSTA DEL SOL

There has been significant scholarly attention paid to understanding the diverse motivations, experiences, and patterns of migration in later life from the United Kingdom to southern European countries, including France and Spain (Benson, 2011; Oliver, 2008; O'Reilly, 2000). These migrants are understood as “retirement migrants” (King, Warnes, & Williams, 2000), or more broadly “lifestyle migrants,” those predominantly motivated by a search for a “better” and more fulfilling life (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009b; Benson & Osbaldiston, 2016). This work includes investigations of lifestyle migrants' senses of place and place identity (Torkington, 2012), the motivations for return migration (Giner-Monfort, Hall, & Betty, 2016), and the implications of growing older and becoming more dependant as a migrant (Hall & Hardill, 2016). These research interests reflect the diverse experiences, motivations, and geographical and social contexts of lifestyle migrants living in southern Europe. This article builds upon this extensive work by developing an understanding of the ways that home is experienced and negotiated by older British migrants living in the Costa del Sol, Spain, during the Brexit process.

This region is popular with British lifestyle migrants, seasonal migrants and tourists (see Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a; O'Reilly, 2000; King, Warnes, & Williams, 2000). The popularity of this location with British people was partially informed by the rise of package holidays in

the 1970s (O'Reilly, 2000), the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990), and understandings of this region's relative proximity to the United Kingdom, favourable climate, comparatively low cost of living, and inexpensive housing (King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2000). It is estimated that over 750,000 British people live in this region (O'Reilly, 2017). However, estimating this population is traditionally difficult based on transient migrant populations and their limited residency registration with local municipalities (King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2000, 2017). However, it is acknowledged that a significant proportion of these British migrants in Spain are over 60 years old (Hall & Hardill, 2016), resulting in extensive research about this population within this region (see Giner-Monfort, Hall, & Betty, 2016; Oliver, 2008). However, the Brexit process marks a significant change, and potential for change, that challenges older British migrants' sense of stability in their decision to live in another EU country.

Such a change should be understood within the recent economic context of the global financial crisis (2008) and its consequences (Oliver, 2017; O'Reilly, 2017). The everyday implications of the financial crisis included unfavourable exchange rates, lower property values, and negative equity in property that resulted in British migrants in Spain finding their migration project unsustainable (Huete, Mantecón, & Estévez, 2013; O'Reilly, 2017). Literature on return migration has cited the financial crisis as a series of events that encouraged, or required, British migrants to return to the United Kingdom (see Giner-Monfort et al., 2016; Huete et al., 2013; Oliver, 2017). Beyond this explanation, return migration scholarship provides nuanced understandings about return motivations among older migrants including social changes, health decline, and the ageing process (Giner-Monfort, Hall, & Betty, 2016; Hall & Hardill, 2016). By focusing on older British migrants living in the Costa del Sol during Brexit, this research has an opportunity to highlight the importance of individuals' sense of home and belonging in the context of a significant geopolitical process, how these concepts are shaped by the implications of such a process, and how they are negotiated daily.

#### 4 | EXAMINING THE PLURALITY OF HOME

Home and migration have been traditionally understood as two distinct categories of scholarly enquiry. In Ahmed et al.'s (2003) edited collection *Uprootings/Regroundings*, the authors make a case against this distinction. They argue for complex understandings of ongoing, non-linear, processes of uprootings and regroupings, processes that are enacted "affectively, materially and symbolically" (Ahmed et al., 2003, p. 1). Similarly, geographies of home scholarship argue for home to be understood as a process that involves multiple scales, material, and imaginative forms and is imbued with power relations (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Mallett, 2004; Brickell, 2012a, 2012b). Home is also understood to be closely bound with an individual's identity, and like identity, is understood to be "always becoming" (Bhatti, 2006, p. 338). By understanding home as an incomplete process that can be made, remade, and *unmade* in daily life (Baxter & Brickell, 2014; Blunt & Dowling, 2006), home and migration are understood as "a plurality of experiences, histories and constituencies, and of the workings of institutional structures" (Ahmed et al., 2003, p. 1). To understand these multiple dimensions, attention is paid to mundane, banal aspects of daily life, completing domestic

tasks, encountering people, leisure practices, and more. By considering everyday life, insights can be gained into how home is performed, negotiated, and experienced (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Highmore, 2002).

Attention has also been paid to place, processes of place attachment, and the importance of this concept for migrants (Ahmed et al., 2003; Torkington, 2012; Woube, 2017). Place can be significant in how home is understood and experienced (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Huber & O'Reilly, 2004). Migration destinations are often carefully chosen through reconnaissance trips, previous holidays, or familial recommendations (Benson, 2011; Oliver, 2008; O'Reilly, 2000). Importantly, older migrants have been understood to have chosen to live in Spain not as a "mere position on a migration trajectory but a final destination" (O'Reilly, 2007, p. 5). Therefore, there is potentially a strong emotional attachment to place, reflected in how older migrants construct their home and sense of belonging (Gilmartin & Migge, 2016; Torkington, 2012). As Ahmed et al. (2003, p. 9) argue, "... being at home and the work of home-building is intimately bound up with the *idea* of home: the idea of place (or places) in the past and of *this* place in the future" (original emphasis). It is necessary to consider how these temporally, and geographical, grounded ideas of place and home are shaped in the context of Brexit. By presenting these changes as initiating and shaping processes of (un)settling, this article will consider how place attachment and home are negotiated and experienced by migrants during a significant geopolitical event.

Social clubs and opportunities have been identified as one dimension of lifestyle migrants' desire for so-called active ageing (Hall & Hardill, 2016; Katz & Calasanti, 2015). However, as people get older, their daily practices, sense of self, mobility, and sense of autonomy and independence may undergo unexpected changes (Bhatti, 2006; Oliver, 2008; Miller et al., 2016). Therefore the realities of ageing "well" may be challenged or threatened (Hall & Hardill, 2016; Katz & Calasanti, 2015). Like home, Milligan et al. (2005, p. 50) argue, that the "lived experience of older age and emotions is a fluid process" that is "complex and multifaceted." This article's focus on older migrants also reflects an awareness of challenges associated with a fixed income, potential for serious and ongoing health issues, and the loss of friends, family, and spouses through death (Hall & Hardill, 2016; Oliver, 2017). These challenges involve emotional responses that can be unsettling and that can unsettle individuals' concepts of home, belonging, and even their identity.

Social clubs have also played a role in constructing an imagined form of British "community" and collective sense of home in Spain (Anderson, 1983; Betty & Cahill, 1999; Haas, 2013; O'Reilly, 2000, 2017; O'Reilly, 2017; Oliver, 2008, 2017). Huber and O'Reilly (2004, p. 300) present the concept of *heimat*, a complex understanding of home that "lies somewhere between the individual and the collective." *Heimat*, they argue, is constituted within communities through "a functioning network" of social relations, and individuals' "solid links with the home of origin" (Huber & O'Reilly, 2004, p. 348). Through these groups, older migrants have the potential to "shift away from their socially prescribed roles" through which they can create and perform "new social identities" (Milligan et al., 2005, p. 60). Additionally, they provide opportunities to construct a shared sense of *heimat* through the active collective rejection of "mask of ageing" imposed upon "older" people by society (Milligan et al., 2005, p. 60). These imagined communities can shape

senses of belonging, individual purpose and identities, and allow rejection of “older” stigmas (Anderson, 1983; Walsh & Näre, 2016). However, Brexit has the potential to challenge and unsettle this form of home, of *heimat*, as constituted through the Senior Club (Huber & O'Reilly, 2004).

## 5 | (UN)SETTLING HOME

Building upon extensive literature on home and its relationship to migration and ageing, this article argues that home can be shaped by processes of (un)settling. These processes will be discussed separately; however, they should not be understood as separate and distinct. Instead, like processes of *uprootings* and *regroundings*, they are complex and continuous (Ahmed et al., 2003). Prior to introducing the empirical narratives, the basis from which the processes of (un)settling are being framed should be outlined.

The process of “settling” home is understood as a hidden, ongoing process that occurs quietly and unobtrusively within the context of the relatively unchanging practices and experiences that constitute individuals' messy and complex daily lives (Highmore, 2002; Law, 2004). This process can create a form of *settled* home through the repetition of a plethora of mundane and banal practices. Providing a sense of consistency, familiarity, and unchanging circumstances within individuals' everyday life, this process of settling home is developed through experiencing, performing, and constructing a multitude of emotions, social relations, materialities, and imaginations. The *settled* home is often temporary, and potentially short-lived. The fleeting nature of a settled home can be made visible in relation to circumstances where home is required to change in some way. For example, through the making, remaking, or unmaking of home; either voluntarily, or through force (Baxter & Brickell, 2014; Porteous & Smith, 2001). Following its hidden, unobtrusive, nature, the existence of a form of “settled” home can become apparent in the context of the *unsettling* of home.

The processes of settling and unsettling of home reveal the ways that individuals' understandings of home are sensitive to changing contexts, emotions, and social relations. Although sensitive to changes, home can also be understood as being resilient and malleable and can be *unsettled* without necessarily being *unmade* (Baxter & Brickell, 2014). Arguably, home is a concept that can be affected, but not necessarily changed, by events, changing circumstances, and unexpected contexts. Understanding the potential for home to be unsettled can make visible some less acknowledged, everyday, aspects of home (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Highmore, 2002); particularly the way that, although always shifting and becoming (Ahmed et al., 2003; Bhatti, 2006), home can exist as settled in some form within daily life. This article explores the ways that events and processes surrounding Brexit have contributed involved the settling and unsettling home for older British migrants living in the Costa del Sol. This approach provides an opportunity to understand how older British migrants are affected by uncertainty and the disruption of Brexit for their present and future plans and homes. However, the processes of (un)settling are visible in other circumstances, such as those experienced within the ageing process (Hall & Hardill, 2016). Through the narratives below, unsettling home will be explored and will contribute to understanding how home responds to, or is shaped by, external and personal circumstances.

## 6 | METHODOLOGY

The narratives presented below are based on 8 months of ethnographic fieldwork, comprised of several fieldtrips, between June 2016 and April 2017. The use of ethnographic methods such as participant observation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983), and informal semistructured interviews (Novoa, 2015), pay attention to the lived experiences and homes of older British migrants. By adopting an ethnographic approach, this research builds upon lifestyle migration and transnational migration scholarships including, but not limited to, O'Reilly (2000, 2017), Benson (2011, 2012), Oliver (2008, 2017), Walsh (2012), and Torkington, David, and Sardinha (2015). These researchers used ethnographic methods to gain insights into the diverse motivations, experiences, and everyday politics of migration and of being a migrant. To research the mundane, emotional, and political aspects of daily life, researchers must spend time with participants, build relationships, and engage with their daily practices through both observation and participation where appropriate (Crang & Cook, 1995; Vannini, 2015). Therefore, I attended and participated in numerous social groups, coffee mornings, and activities frequented by older British migrants. Through ethnographic work, I explored how these groups, and individuals' daily practices, aided participants' construction of place, sense of belonging, and concept of home (Antonsich, 2010; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Christou, 2011; Duff, 2010). As Cairns (2013, p. 335) suggests, ethnography is not a passive process, but instead is active in the construction of place and should be understood as “a relational process that is ongoing, contested, and enmeshed in networks of power.” By investigating these concepts within the context of the Brexit process, this ethnographic research provides insights into the inherent power and politics present in the everyday experiences of these relatively privileged migrants (Benson & O'Reilly, 2016).

The timing of this fieldwork was significant as it marked the period between the EU referendum (June 23, 2016), and the invoking of Article 50 (March 29, 2017). This period involved the immediate aftermath of the referendum result and beginnings of the Brexit process. By researching during, and between, these two distinct political events, there was an opportunity to explore how older British migrants understood, contested, or accepted the emerging implications of Brexit. Fieldwork during this period provided an opportunity to understand how Brexit had begun to shape the daily lives of this group despite the awareness that the process had not officially begun until Article 50 was invoked. This research was undertaken during an uncertain period, both politically and for participants' lifestyle migration projects. This moment of uncertainty raised questions about how home is affected, disturbed, or *unsettled* in such a context.

## 7 | CO-CONSTRUCTING NARRATIVES

Narrative interviews were identified as an appropriate method for sensitively exploring how older British migrants negotiate experiences of illness, widowhood, and other potentially emotionally charged experiences within their everyday lives in Spain. Through the production of a “discursive space” within narrative interviews (Riessman, 2003, p. 342), participants could tell their migration stories, understandings of home, and experiences of growing older (Ahmed, 2013;



Ahmed & Hall, 2016; Christou, 2011). Narrative interviews encourage participants to construct, guide, and reflect upon their personal story (Bold, 2012; Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). Through these co-produced narratives, the importance of older British migrants' changing personal circumstances, unplanned life events, and experiences of the ageing process were identified as important in understanding how the Brexit process may unsettle individuals' home.

The narratives presented are based on these interviews, coupled with observations and informal conversations recorded within ethnographic field notes (Bjørnholt & Farstad, 2014). By using this data to produce two individual narratives, this article acknowledges the "messiness" of everyday life (Highmore, 2002; Law, 2004). Therefore, these narratives provide relational understandings between participants' everyday lives, their imaginations, practices of home and home-making, the construction and maintenance of social relationships and networks, and their material belongings (Miller, 2001; Tarrant, 2010). By focusing on two narratives from one social club—the Seniors Club—the importance of these clubs for lifestyle migrants is emphasised (Oliver, 2017; O'Reilly, 2017). The focus on social networks reflects the nature of these social opportunities as central to older British migrants' performance of their national identity, sense of belonging, and negotiation of their shifting concept of home (Gilmartin & Migge, 2016; Haas, 2013). William and Lily's narratives demonstrate the importance of these social networks and shared experiences within their daily lives while demonstrating the unique and complex nature of home (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). By considering multiple dimensions of participants' lives, these narratives also provide understandings of home as malleable and resilient through being *unsettled*, without being *unmade* (Baxter & Brickell, 2014).

## 8 | NEGOTIATING POSITIONALITY AND ETHICAL DILEMMAS

As a young researcher, I was visibly younger than my participants. Participants made sense of my presence by positioning me as a grandchild figure. This positioning provided me with comfortable access to individual's stories. However, participants censored "inappropriate" discussions for a grandchild figure such as sex. Throughout fieldwork, I was aware of power relations between researcher-participant, volunteer-attendee, and grandparent-grandchild; each relationship and status had to be carefully negotiated within my research (Liong, 2015; Tarrant, 2010). However, the ethical and power issues surrounding researching with older people require more discussion and attention than can be provided here. Pseudonyms have been used throughout this article, and identifiable characteristics have been removed to maintain anonymity.

## 9 | WILLIAM'S STORY

### 9.1 | Making home in the Costa del Sol

In 1985, William and Susan bought a large villa 5 km outside Arroyo. Initially a holiday home, William described it as their "Costa del Sol home." Through their regular trips, they established an active social life, found new hobbies, and spent time with visiting family. In 2001, William

and Susan both turned 65 years old, retired from their roles in their family business, sold their family home in Yorkshire, and migrated to Spain permanently. Together, they remade their home in Spain through redecorating, moving their belongings, and buying new furniture. Through these materialities, their strengthening of their existing social networks and their establishment of new routines in their daily lives, they carefully constructed their villa and life in Arroyo as a place that they both considered to be "home." For over 10 years, their experiences of living permanently in Arroyo were shaped by financial stability, good health, and support from their family in the United Kingdom. Their weeks were structured around their various groups: the Seniors Club, tea dancing group, and bowls practice. They also established daily rituals such as breakfast together on their balcony. These routines provided feelings of contentment, comfort, and a sense of being *settled* in the Costa del Sol, as William said, "it was their home."

### 9.2 | Negotiating widowhood

In early 2015, Susan was diagnosed with cancer and died later that year. After 63 years of marriage, William initially struggled to maintain an emotional connection to the Costa del Sol. Everything reminded him of their life together. For over 6 months, William did not attend "their" clubs and struggled to motivate himself to meet friends. William's bereavement challenged his idea of their Arroyo villa as home; "it just wasn't the same." The Seniors Club coordinator visited William regularly and encouraging him to return. She explained that members had similar experiences of loss, grief, and change. Helen's prompting encouraged William to tentatively returned and became a regular Club member. Over time, William developed a reputation as a "joker" and a "cheeky chappy!" among members. Each week, he would tell the group that he needed a dance partner, someone to iron his shirts, and cook his dinner. He would ask each female member in turn if they would help him. He was rejected each time. When asked directly, William explained he was lonely and struggled with domestic tasks. His family were unable to offer much help as they were "all too busy, they've got their own lives and I appreciate that. But some nights I am so lonely—I really struggle." Through William's role as the joker, he remade his identity as a jovial and entertaining widower, rejecting the expectation of sadness, loss, and grief attached to that label. However, despite performing this role, William struggled with daily tasks, the emotions experienced through his bereavement, and in remaking a sense of home in Arroyo alone. In these circumstances, William's home, sense of belonging, and his identity was unsettled and required an active remaking of a previously shared understanding of home.

### 9.3 | "I'm British, but my home is here"

On Friday of June 24, 2016, William sat in his villa and watched the reporting of the EU referendum result on BBC News. As it became clear that the result was in favour of Brexit, William was delighted and full of pride. Simultaneously, he regretted that he could not share this moment with Susan. When William visited the Club, he cheerfully and triumphantly told the group: "I couldn't vote, but I would have voted for Brexit—good sense prevailed!" This comment firmly positioned William as a "Leave" supporter in contrast to "Remain"

supporters. In response, Georgina, a regular attendee of the Seniors Club, told him: "I just don't understand why, William. I for one am quite distressed by this whole thing." Georgina's husband, Alfred, added: "We should have had a vote. I mean, it affects us. It really does." For William, his disagreements with fellow members challenged his understanding of a collective identity and sense of group belonging. Brexit highlighted the differences between members and created a sense of disquiet among them as it was understood by some as a direct threat and challenge to their life in Spain. William's vocal support of Brexit was understood by others as supporting a process that has the potential to unmake their home in Spain. These emotionally charged disagreements highlighted the multitude of uncertainties surrounding the referendum result, uncertainties that threatened and unsettled these migrants' concepts of home and belonging. For William, he was delighted about the result; however, he explained: "I feel like we are always arguing nowadays—feels like its changed since the referendum really." These Club discussions challenged his perception of a collective identity, sense of belonging to the Seniors Club, and a broader British "community" in Spain.

The Seniors Club received regular visitors in the weeks following the referendum including journalists, academics, local government officials, campaign groups, and the British consulate. These visitors were interested in discussing Brexit and its implications for these older British migrants including uncertainties surrounding their future access to healthcare, unanticipated citizenship requirements, and changes to their financial status because of fluctuating exchange rates. A common question about Brexit was: "where's home now?" This question had an indirect effect of unsettling home as they reinforced the respondents' potentially precarious position and its implications. By asking about home *now*, these questions suggested that changing geopolitical contexts had already changed where or what home was. William would always respond with a variation on the same answer: "I am British, but my home is here." When prompted further to explain where he meant by "here," William explains that: "well here is my villa, this club, the other clubs I go to, and I suppose this town. Not Spain though. Spain's not really my home".

William's response highlighted his complex understanding of home that includes, among other dimensions, various geographical locations, and a strong sense of national identity. By highlighting his national identity, William emphasises his home as separate to his identity as a British person. However, William was disappointed at his inability to vote in the referendum. Like other older British migrants who had resided outside of the United Kingdom for over 15 years (Raptopoulos, Locke, Nevitt, & Wisniewska, 2016), William was not entitled to vote. Although William experienced his preferred outcome, he felt disenfranchised and distressed about the U.K. government's voting restrictions and felt that he, and other British migrants, were understood as "less British because we haven't lived there in a while. It's not the case. Not at all."

## 9.4 | "Come home?"

Four months after the EU referendum, at 82 years old, William was diagnosed with lung cancer and heart failure. This diagnosis came as a surprise to him and to his family. William told his friends that this

personal challenge was not going to change anything; he would get treatment in the local hospital and maintain his life and home in the Costa del Sol. Shortly after his diagnosis, William's son and daughter-in-law paid his ticket to return to the United Kingdom for a short visit. During the visit, they asked him to "come home?" so he could receive his treatment from the National Health Service (NHS), and they would care for him in Yorkshire. William declined their offer and returned to Spain. As William's chemotherapy treatment progressed, his family continued to attempt to convince him to return to the United Kingdom. They argued that he would receive better care through the NHS and would be close to family who could help him in his recovery. William continued to decline their offer.

As the date of the invoking of Article 50 approached, William's family began to argue that William should return due to the uncertainties surrounding Brexit for British migrants living in the EU. They explained their concerns that Brexit was a threat to William's rights to free healthcare Spain as the reciprocal agreement between the United Kingdom and Spain could be under threat (O'Carroll, 2017a). Without this free healthcare, they told William, he would be unable to afford and was ineligible for private healthcare due to his age and may be *forced* to return to the United Kingdom. William again declined their offer. Each time his family provided a different reason for him to leave his home and friends in the Costa del Sol, William would tell the Seniors Club members—"oh here they go again!" in angry and exasperated tones. In response to his family's concerns about Brexit, William was confident that "Brexit isn't going to change anything." He remained adamant that Arroyo was his home; it was filled with the memories of his shared time with Susan, the support of his friends like those in the Seniors Club, his villa, and his sense of comfort and well-being. However, despite his continuing refusals to "come home" to the United Kingdom, William's senses of home, stability, and belonging were challenged and unsettled by each offer. William's story highlights some of the practical, emotional, and temporal ways that his home is being unsettled in the context of the Brexit process. Lily's story presented below will explore the (un)settling of home in this geopolitical context. Following her story, the processes of (un)settling home will be explored further in relation to both narratives in the context of Brexit.

## 10 | "I WILL LIVE AND DIE IN SPAIN": LILY'S STORY

### 10.1 | Searching for home

Lily lived in the centre of Arroyo de la Miel, "Arroyo", in a small apartment within a large apartment block. She enjoyed catching glimpses of the busy lives of her neighbours: people of various ages, nationalities, and employment statuses. Lily had lived in her apartment in Arroyo on a part-time basis since the mid-1980s. Each year, she would split her time between her apartment in Arroyo and her residence in Kent, England. In 2001, as she was approaching her 80th birthday, Lily decided to live in one location permanently. She chose to relocate to the Costa del Sol on a full-time basis. Lily's migration was predominantly motivated by her feelings of disappointment and restriction associated with her life in the United Kingdom. Lily's relationship with

her daughter had deteriorated, and they became estranged. With this relationship breakdown, Lily experienced the loss of her only remaining family ties in the United Kingdom. She migrated with a sense of having “nothing to lose” as she described it, while symbolising her desire to be understood as an active, able, older person with no ties or familial responsibilities.

## 10.2 | Constructing and performing home in Arroyo

With her 95th birthday in 2016, Lily had become one of the oldest, and longest attending, members of the Arroyo Seniors Club branch. She was rarely absent from the Tuesday coffee mornings: when she was, everybody noticed. In Arroyo, Lily was described by members of the different groups she attended as being a “social butterfly.” The groups she attended, or “my groups” as she referred to them, included Seniors Club, a Monday social group, bowls, and a weekly Seniors Club lunch that she organised. The remainder of Lily's week involved meeting friends, taking trips to nearby places such as Malaga alongside her domestic tasks such as cleaning, laundry, and shopping. Lily's social life was almost exclusively based around fellow older British migrants. For Lily, her sense of belonging was closely linked to her identity as a British migrant and as part of a “British community.” Lily's weekly activities, practices, and experiences within this imagined community were central to her development and performance of her sense of belonging and home in Arroyo (Anderson, 1983).

Alongside her relationships with fellow older British migrants, Lily emphasised her British identity through her daily engagement with British television, newspapers, books, eating regularly in British-run restaurants and cafes, attending British-run clubs, meeting for afternoon tea, or other rituals that are linked to her country of origin (O'Reilly, 2000; Woube, 2017). Her sense of Britishness was also reinforced through the banal nationalism that she encountered daily, including Union Jack flags hung in cafes, English language signs and menus, and the ready availability of traditional British dinners (Billig, 1995). Through these practices and symbols, Lily and her friends constructed a specific sense of Britishness that was grounded in their lives in Spain. Through this carefully negotiated shared identity, she felt at home, and settled, as she engaged in her chosen activities and practices each week. For Lily, home appeared to be inseparable from her strong attachment to place. Within Arroyo, Lily had a series of favourite locations for dining out, reading her book or newspaper, and for watching the comings and goings of others in the town. She regularly visited British-run *Birdie's*, *Lucy's*, and *Finn's* bars. She also had a favourite walking route: down the hill to the beach, along the beach, and back up the hill through the local park. Lily's daily walk was one of her favourite activities. Through her interactions with these different spaces and places each day, Lily had formed a strong emotional attachment to Arroyo, an attachment that was threatened by the Brexit process.

## 10.3 | Negotiating Brexit

When asked about how the process of Brexit will affect her life in Spain, Lily appeared unconcerned. Instead, she is adamant that her future will not involve Brexit's consequences. She explained, in no

uncertain terms, that “I will live and die in Spain.” Such a statement was surprising as Lily was one of the most vocal group members about retaining a sense of British identity within her day-to-day life in Spain, an identity that had been strengthened rather than lessened through her experiences as a migrant (Gilmartin & Migge, 2016; Rose, 1995; Torkington, 2012). However, this statement reflects Lily's awareness of her own mortality and the limited time she has (Oliver, 2008). She is also indicating to those who ask that she intends to remain in Spain regardless of changing circumstances. This statement also demonstrates Lily's complex sense of home. She had identified that she no longer understood Kent to be home prior to moving to the Costa del Sol. However, she maintains a strong sense of British identity, an identity that has been constructed and shaped through her relationships with other older British migrants and the leisure activities that she partakes in daily. Lily's sense of Britishness is grounded in her experiences of living and being active in what she understands to be a form of British “community” in Arroyo.

Two weeks after the referendum, Lily approached Helen, the Seniors Club coordinator, explaining that she was struggling to afford her life in Spain. She had lost over 20% of her monthly pension income due to the sharp drop in the exchange rate. She told Helen: “what we get is all we have. It's not like we can go and work a few more hours. It's a different amount every month. Some months are much harder than others. It's really hard to plan anything.” Lily was reliant solely on her state pension, and with this limited income and rising living costs in Spain in recent years, she found her relatively quiet lifestyle to be increasingly precarious. Among her friends and acquaintances, Lily's experience was not unusual. Lily's increasing context of precariousness and uncertainty was beginning to slowly erode her sense of comfort and security within her life in Spain. She found herself becoming more anxious and concerned each month as she waited to find out what her pension would be in Euros. She was quietly concerned that she may struggle to continue to afford to live in the Costa del Sol if the exchange rate continues to be as unfavourable. Lily continues to feel at home in Arroyo although she is experiencing an unsettling of home through the emotional distress, financial concerns, and challenges to her future that she faces.

## 10.4 | Features of (un)settling home

As outlined earlier, this article argues for the process of unsettling home to be understood as comprising of three overlapping dimensions. First, the unsettling of home is shaped by changes in the practical and material aspects of everyday life, particularly in the context of shifting circumstances. Lily's experience of fluctuating exchange rates and resulting reduction in her financial resources provides an example of how home is unsettled. Although seemingly unconcerned about Brexit, Lily is negotiating financial changes that raise questions of her ability to afford her life in Spain. These changes have not, yet, required her to unmake her sense of home. Instead, they are unsettling her sense of home through her current ability to sustain an inexpensive version of her previously enacted lifestyle migration project. Second, the unsettling of home is inseparable from individuals' emotions. William's family's concern about his health, and their requests for his return, were unsettling William's concept of home through his



feelings of weariness through continued questioning of his home, and his health, in the context of the Brexit process. Finally, the process of unsettling home that can occur in response to changing or unexpected circumstances can be understood to have a role in shaping the temporalities and futures of those whose home has been unsettled. For both Lily and William, their homes were unsettled by questions of where their home was *now* and where it would be in the future because of Brexit. Such questions and resulting reflections challenge their plans to sustain their existing sense of home and belonging within their lives in Arroyo. These three features of (un)settling home demonstrate the ways that individuals' understandings of home are sensitive to changing contexts, emotions, and social relations. The processes of (un)settling home also provide an understanding of home as a concept that is resilient and malleable as it can be shaped by circumstances and unsettled without being unmade (Baxter & Brickell, 2014).

### 10.5 | Brexit: (Un)settling home?

Lily and William's narratives provide insights into how the Brexit process, and its implications, can destabilise and unsettle individuals' sense of home and belonging. By understanding Brexit as both a significant political event and as a process, this article has initiated a conversation about how the (un)settling of home can occur in response to unexpected, uncertain, moments. Unlike other unsettling moments or experiences highlighted within the narratives, Brexit is a process experienced simultaneously by older British migrants living across the EU. Therefore, this commonly experienced process can be understood as an opportunity to understand how home can be unsettled, both for the individual and collectively. These narratives were coconstructed in a period of relatively little change within the Brexit process. There were few definitive answers among extensive speculation about how this process would change the lives of older British migrants living across the EU. This *in-between* period, between the referendum and the invoking of Article 50, saw changes in currency exchange rates, questions being raised about the "viability" of older British migrants' continued lifestyle migration projects (O'Carroll, 2017b), and the establishment of various campaign groups who sought to represent British populations in Spain and other EU countries (Dowsett, 2016). For Seniors Club members, there was a sense that they would "carry on regardless": an attitude visible in both William and Lily's reactions to questions about Brexit and their sense of home. This attitude can be understood as a response to their awareness that there may be future changes and developments within the Brexit process that could affect them. This often-expressed attitude highlights their willingness to adapt accordingly and their refusal to *allow* Brexit to threaten and undermine their decision to grow older in the Costa del Sol. It can also be understood as preventing focus on concerns, anxieties, and possibilities within the uncertain context of the Brexit process, uncertainties that could result in further unsettling, or more permanent unmaking, of home.

Brexit can be understood as both a moment and a process of disruption. It has disrupted the concept of a collective European identity, it has disrupted people's future plans, and has disrupted, and unsettled, individuals' ideas of home (Anderson & Wilson, 2018). Home, it has been argued, can exist in a settled form within which there is limited

challenges or disruptions; this form of home is centred on performing the routine tasks and mundane activities that can constitute everyday life (Highmore, 2002). As identified within the narratives, this disruption, and consequent unsettling, raises questions for migrants about their rights as residents of another country, about elements of their identity, about their sense of belonging in a place or community, and about their home as something that continue to be experienced and developed, rather than unmade in the changing context. The uncertainty and lack of clarity about the Brexit process, and its implications, have shaped a process of unsettling based on these uncertainties and the emotional responses of anxiety and disquiet that they may cause. This unsettling should be understood in relation to the unmaking of home as a process that often occurs in response to changing circumstances (see Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Whether voluntary or forced, the unmaking of home is a significant and notable reconstitution of home that involves home no longer existing in the form or shape that individuals had previously understood it to (Baxter & Brickell, 2014). By contrast, unsettling is a process that undermines, challenges, and threatens individuals' sense of home, but it does not necessarily demand or require *action*. Instead, the process of unsettling creates an atmosphere or an environment where there is an awareness that future action may be required, with such anticipation unsettling those who experience it.

This article has highlighted the way that when unsettling of home is experienced, some of the taken-for-granted aspects of what can be understood as a settled form of an individuals' home can be revealed. For example, in William's story, his cancer diagnosis can be understood as an unsettling moment for him and for his sense of home. It revealed the contentment and stability he had carefully created in the remaking of his home after the death of his wife. This sense of stability within his daily life was shaken, made uncertain, and unsettled in the context of being diagnosed with a serious illness. Following his cancer diagnosis, his family began to further unsettle his concept of home by seeking to care for him through his return to the United Kingdom. By requesting his departure from Spain, his family were challenging William's autonomy and his feeling of belonging there. William's refusals to return to the United Kingdom required an active reflection and consideration of his health, his mortality, and his home. This process of reflection, initiated by the requests and questions of others, thus creates an uncertain, unsettled atmosphere, and experience for William. In this situation, William's refusal to return demonstrates his negotiation of this unsettling experience and his resistance to unmaking a home that he carefully made with his wife and remade after her death. In this situation, William's experiences of the unsettling of home are complex and involve the negotiation of ill health, family concerns, emotional responses such as anger, and the ageing process. Although not the only cause of unsettling in this example, Brexit plays a role in further unsettling William's sense of home in Arroyo and the Costa del Sol. The uncertainties surrounding older British migrants' access to healthcare in the EU present an additional concern that has the potential to require the unmaking of home for older British migrants living in countries across the EU.

Lily's story highlights the way that the process of unsettling can also provide moments of reflection that can provide individuals with clarity about their lives and how they wish to continue to live them. Lily's intentions to "live and die" in Spain are communicated clearly

to her friends in various clubs in Arroyo. With this vocalisation, she is emphasising that she belongs there and that her conceptualisation of home is firmly rooted in the social relations, materialities, economic dimension, daily practices, and experiences that together constitute her life in the Costa del Sol. Lily's statement can also be understood as a challenge to others within the British "community"; a central part of her imaginative geographies of Arroyo and the Costa del Sol. By expressing her strong desire to live in Spain for the rest of her life, Lily is also providing an opportunity for her friends and acquaintances to make clear the strength of their attachment to the Costa del Sol, and their "membership" of this carefully constructed sense of community (Huber & O'Reilly, 2004). By understanding Lily's statement as a challenge to others, the collective sense of place and place attachment experienced among members of this branch of a Seniors Club is highlighted. This sense of place, and of attachment to place, is based on their shared migration experiences within the small town of Arroyo that Lily, her friends and acquaintances lived in. As Rose (1995, p. 97) suggests, "Senses of place may become more intense when those who feel they belong there feel threatened." In the context of Brexit, and the questions aimed at members of this group, their collective sense of place, and of belonging, are arguably strengthened, rather than weakened in the face of this form of "threat."

Lily's intention to remain despite potential changes related to Brexit should also be understood in relation to her advancing years and her own sense of mortality. Unlike other, younger, older British migrants, Lily is focused on her remaining, and uncertain, years. This sense of mortality is something may be unsettling to the individual (Oliver, 2008; Mowl, Pain, & Talbot, 2000; Rowles, 1978). However, in this context, Lily's awareness of her own mortality is used to actively confirm her home and sense of belonging in Arroyo. Lily's narrative could also be understood as an example of the settling of home within the context of Brexit. She constructs a settled form of home by imagining a future that will involve her remaining in Spain, in either life or death. While her home has been unsettled through changes to her financial resources, questions asked by others, and her own reflections about home, Lily's narrative emphasises her desire for a sense of stability, familiarity, and comfort that she associates with her home. She appears to reject, or ignore, the Brexit process in favour of sustaining these feelings in her later years. These processes of (un)settling demonstrated within Lily's story provide an opportunity to further understand the complex nature of home as something that is ongoing, is negotiated, and is meaningful to individuals (Ahmed et al., 2003; Baxter & Brickell, 2014; Blunt & Dowling, 2006).

## 10.6 | The everyday politics of unsettling home

By understanding home as something that can be shaped by processes of (un)settling, understandings of the everyday ways that the concepts of home and belonging are inherently political and imbued with power relations can be further developed (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). The unsettling of home can be understood as a process that is afforded to migrants in a privileged position with the resources and status to facilitate relatively flexible mobility (Baldassar, Baldock, & Wilding, 2007; Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a). For example, in William's story, there was an awareness that he could, relatively easily, return to the

United Kingdom, receive cancer treatment via the NHS. For other migrants affected by the Brexit process, their position may not permit the unsettling of home. Instead, due to social, political, and economic circumstances, lack of social networks for support, or financial resources, they may be required to unmake their home, migrate elsewhere, or return to their country of origin. For other older migrants, such as Lily, there may be an unwillingness or inability to unmake home in favour of making home elsewhere. To suggest that these migrants could "come home" to the United Kingdom is a problematic discourse that does not acknowledge the meaningfulness of home, the emotional attachment to place, and the way that home can be bound up with individual's identities (Davidson, Bondi, & Smith, 2005; Gilmartin & Migge, 2016; Torkington, 2012). It also fails to acknowledge the precariousness of some of these migrants' everyday lives as they potentially experience increasing dependence, limited social capital, the loss of spouses, ongoing health problems, and limited income as they experience the ageing process (Hall & Hardill, 2016; Oliver, 2008, 2017).

## 11 | CONCLUSION

Brexit, a significant political event that has begun the long, uncertain, process of removing the United Kingdom from the EU, has been used as an example of a shared experience that has the potential to (un)settle home. Although often understood as relatively privileged migrants, older British migrants are experiencing an unprecedented shift in their status and are facing an uncertain future. These circumstances have important implications for home. In this article, it has been argued that these implications have initiated a process of (un)settling home, a process that is imbued with power relations and that challenges older British migrants' understanding of their place within the well-established structures, rules, and rights, as members of the EU supranational organisation (O'Reilly, 2007). Processes of (un)settling home have been explored, and three intertwined dimensions of these processes have been identified: material and practical, emotional, and temporal.

This research was conducted during a period of relatively little change in the context of Brexit. Therefore, it provides an opportunity to understand how home can be threatened, disrupted, and unsettled by such uncertainty. However, such threats and disruption could result in individuals being required to *unmake* their personal concept of home as the Brexit process develops and shifts. This awareness can contribute to understandings of home as a concept, and future research could consider these (un)settling processes through different contexts and with different populations, to develop understandings of this inherently political concept that is experienced within everyday life. Further research could also aim to understand how older British migrants negotiate home as the Brexit process continues, considering the extent to which home can be unsettled before it is required to be unmade.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and The Meiklejohn Fund via the University of Edinburgh. I

would like to thank the participants who generously gave their time to this research. Thanks also goes to the organisers of this special issue and the anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments. Finally, a special thank you to Dan Swanton and Eric Laurier for their ongoing support and advice.

## CONFLICT OF INTEREST

There are no conflicts of interest to report.

## ORCID

Rebekah Grace Miller  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0886-8915>

## REFERENCES

- Ahmed, A. (2013). Structural narrative analysis understanding experiences of lifestyle migration through two plot typologies. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 19(3), 232–243. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800412466050>
- Ahmed, A., & Hall, K. (2016). Negotiating the challenges of aging as a British migrant in Spain. *Gerontopsychology*, 29, 105–114. <https://doi.org/10.1024/1662-9647/a000147>
- Ahmed, S., Casteneda, C., Fortier, A. M., & Sheller, M. (2003). *Uprootings/regroundings: Questions of home and migration*. London: Berg.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso Editions and NLB.
- Anderson, B., & Wilson, H. F. (2018). Everyday Brexits. *Area*, 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12385>
- Antonsich, M. (2010). Searching for belonging—An analytical framework. *Geography Compass*, 4(6), 644–659. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2009.00317.x>
- Baldassar, L., Baldock, C. V., & Wilding, R. (2007). *Families caring across borders: Migration, ageing and transnational caregiving*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Baxter, R., & Brickell, K. (2014). For home unmaking. *Home Cultures*, 11(2), 133–144. <https://doi.org/10.2752/175174214X13891916944553>
- Benson, M. (2011). The movement beyond (lifestyle) migration: Mobile practices and the constitution of a better way of life. *Mobilities*, 6(2), 221–235. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2011.552901>
- Benson, M. (2012). How culturally significant imaginings are translated into lifestyle migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(10), 1681–1696. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.711067>
- Benson, M., & O'Reilly, K. (Eds.) (2009a). *Lifestyle migration: Expectations, aspirations, and experiences*. England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Benson, M., & O'Reilly, K. (2009b). Migration and the search for a better way of life: A critical exploration of lifestyle migration. *The Sociological Review*, 57(4). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2009.01864.x>
- Benson, M., & O'Reilly, K. (2016). Categories, concepts and ways of thinking: From lifestyle migration to lifestyle in migration. *Migration Studies*, 4(1), 20–37. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnv015>
- Benson, M., & Osbaldiston, N. (2016). Toward a critical sociology of lifestyle migration: Reconceptualizing migration and the search for a better way of life. *The Sociological Review*, 64(3), 407–423. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12370>
- Betty, C., & Cahill, M. (1999). British expatriates' experience of health and social services on the Costa del Sol. In F. Anthias, & G. Lazaridis (Eds.), *Into the margins: Migration and social exclusion in Southern Europe*. (pp. 83–113). Aldershot, Hampshire: Avebury.
- Bhatti, M. (2006). When I'm in the garden I can create my own paradise: Homes and gardens in later life. *The Sociological Review*, 54(2), 318–341. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2006.00616.x>
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.
- Bjørnholt, M., & Farstad, G. R. (2014). "Am I rambling?" on the advantages of interviewing couples together. *Qualitative Research*, 14(1), 3–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112459671>
- Blunt, A., & Dowling, R. (2006). *Home*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Bold, C. (2012). *Using narrative in research*. London: Sage.
- Brickell, K. (2012a). Geopolitics of home. *Geography Compass*, 6(10), 575–588. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2012.00511.x>
- Brickell, K. (2012b). "Mapping" and "doing" critical geographies of home. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(2), 225–244. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132511418708>
- Cairns, K. (2013). Ethnographic locations: The geographies of feminist post-structural ethnography. *Ethnography and Education*, 8(3), 323–337. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2013.792675>
- Christou, A. (2011). Narrating lives in (e)motion: Embodiment, belongingness and displacement in diasporic spaces of home and return. *Emotion, Space and Society*, 4(4), 249–257. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2011.06.007>
- Crang, M., & Cook, I. (1995). Doing ethnographies. *Anthropological Notebooks*, 21(1), 121–132.
- Davidson, J., Bondi, L., & Smith, M. (Eds.) (2005). *Emotional geographies*. England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Dowsett, S. (2016). Britons in Spain fret over health care, may come home after Brexit, Reuters Online, Retrieved from <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-eu-spain-insight/britons-in-spain-fret-over-health-care-may-come-home-after-brex-it-idUKKBN1430K4>
- Duff, C. (2010). On the role of affect and practice in the production of place. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28(5), 881–895. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d16209>
- Gilmartin, M., & Migge, B. (2016). Home stories: Immigrant narratives of place and identity in contemporary. *Ireland Home Stories: Immigrant Narratives of Place and Identity in Contemporary Ireland*, 32(1), 83–101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08873631.2014.1000576>
- Giner-Monfort, J., Hall, K., & Betty, C. (2016). Back to Brit: Retired British migrants returning from Spain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(5), 797–815. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1100068>
- Haas, H. (2013). Volunteering in retirement migration: Meanings and functions of charitable activities for older British residents in Spain. *Ageing and Society*, 33(8), 1374–1400. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X12000669>
- Hall, K., & Hardill, I. (2016). Retirement migration, the "other" story: Caring for frail elderly British citizens in Spain. *Ageing and Society*, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X14001342>
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1983). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London, New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Highmore, B. (Ed.) (2002). *The everyday reader*. London: Routledge.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (Eds.) (2003). *Inside interviewing: New lenses, new concerns*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
- Huber, A., & O'Reilly, K. (2004). The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualised modernity: Swiss and British elderly migrants in Spain. *Ageing and Society*, 24(3), 327–351. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X03001478>
- Huete, R., Mantecón, A., & Estévez, J. (2013). Challenges in lifestyle migration research: Reflections and findings about the Spanish crisis. *Mobilities*, 8(3), 331–348. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2013.814236>
- Katz, S., & Calasanti, T. (2015). Critical perspectives on successful aging: Does it "appeal more than it illuminates"? *The Gerontologist*, 55(1), 26–33. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnu027>
- King, R., Warnes, T. and Williams, A. (2000). *Sunset lives: British retirement migration to the Mediterranean*. Berg.
- Kunz, S. (2016). Privileged mobilities: Locating the expatriate in migration scholarship. *Geography Compass*, 10(3), 89–101. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12253>
- Law, J. (2004). *After methods: Mess in social research*. USA: Routledge.

- Liong, M. (2015). Like father, like son: negotiation of masculinity in the ethnographic context in Hong Kong. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 22(7), 1–17.
- Mallett, S. (2004). Understanding home: A critical review of the literature. *The Sociological Review*, 52(1), 62–89. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2004.00442.x>
- Miller, D. (Ed.). (2001). *Home possessions: Material culture behind closed doors*. Oxford: Berg.
- Miller, P. A., Sinding, C., Griffith, L. E., Shannon, H. S., & Raina, P. (2016). Seniors' narratives of asking (and not asking) for help after a fall: Implications for identity. *Ageing and Society*, 36(2), 240–258.
- Milligan, C., Bingley, A., & Gatrell, A. (2005). 'Healing and feeling': The place of emotions in later life. In J. Davidson, L. Bondi, & M. Smith (Eds.), (2005) *Emotional geographies*. (pp. 49–62). England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Chapter 14.
- Mowl, G., Pain, R., & Talbot, C. (2000). The ageing body and the homespace. *Area*, 32, 189–197. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2000.tb00129.x>
- Näre, L., Walsh, K., & Baldassar, L. (2017). Ageing in transnational contexts: Transforming everyday practices and identities in later life. *Identities*, 24(5), 515–523. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2017.1346986>
- Novoa, A. (2015). Mobile ethnography: Emergence, techniques and its importance to geography. *Human Geographies*, 9(1), 97–107. <https://doi.org/10.5719/hgeo.2015.91.7>
- O'Carroll, L. (2017a). Briton in Spain fears losing access to healthcare after Brexit, The Guardian online, Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jul/22/british-expat-in-spain-fears-losing-access-to-healthcare-after-brexit>
- O'Carroll, L. (2017b). The Brexit trap that's closing on Britons who live in Europe, The Guardian online, Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/may/11/the-brexit-trap-thats-closing-on-britons-who-live-in-europe>
- Oliver, C. (2008). *Retirement migration: The paradoxes of ageing*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Oliver, C. (2017). Peer-led care practices and "community" formation in British retirement migration. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 7(3), 172–180. <https://doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2017-0027>
- O'Reilly, K. (2000). *The British on the Costa del Sol*. London, New York: Routledge.
- O'Reilly, K. (2007). Intra-European migration and the mobility-enclosure dialectic. *Sociology*, 41(2), 277–293. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038507074974>
- O'Reilly, K. (2017). The British on the Costa del Sol twenty years on: A story of liquids and sediments. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 7(3), 139–147. <https://doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2017-0017>
- Oxford Dictionaries Online (2018). Definition of 'unsettled', Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/unsettled>
- Pain, R., Mowl, G., & Talbot, C. (2000). Difference and the negotiation of 'old age'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18(3), 377–393. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d31j>
- Porteous, D., & Smith, S. E. (2001). *Domicide*. Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Raptopoulos, L., Locke, C., Nevitt, C., and Wisniewska, A. (2016). What do British expats think of Brexit? Financial Times online, Retrieved from <https://ft.com/sites/expats-on-brexit/>
- Riessman, C. K. (2003). 'Analysis of personal narratives', in Holstein. In A. James, & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Inside interviewing: New lenses, new concerns*. (pp. 331–347). Thousand Oaks CA, Chapter 16: Sage.
- Rose, G. (1995). Place and identity: A sense of place. In D. Massey, & P. Jess (Eds.), *A place in the world*. (pp. 87–132). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rowles, G. D. (1978). *Prisoners of space? Exploring the geographic experience of older people*. Westview: Boulder.
- Tarrant, A. (2010). Constructing a social geography of grandparenthood: A new focus for intergenerationality. *Area*, 42(2), 190–197. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2009.00920.x>
- Torkington, K. (2012). Place and lifestyle migration: The discursive construction of "glocal" place-identity. *Mobilities*, 7(1), 71–92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2012.631812>
- Torkington, K., David, I., & Sardinha, J. (Eds.) (2015). *Practising the good life: Lifestyle migration in practices*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London, Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Vannini, P. (2015). Non-representational ethnography: New ways of animating lifeworlds. *Cultural Geographies*, 22(2), 317–327. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474014555657>
- Walsh, K. (2012). Emotion and migration: British transnationals in Dubai. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 30(1), 43–59. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d12409>
- Walsh, K., & Näre, L. (Eds.) (2016). *Transnational migration and home in older age*. London: Routledge.
- Woube, A. (2017). Finding one's place: An ethnological study of belonging among Swedish migrants on the Costa del Sol in Spain. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 7(3), 148–155. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.12830>

**How to cite this article:** Miller RG. (Un)settling home during the Brexit process. *Popul Space Place*. 2018;e2203. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2203>